

T H E S I S

A STUDY OF A GROUP OF WEST INDIAN
NEGROES IN NEW YORK CITY.

by

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A STUDY OF A GROUP OF WEST INDIAN
NEGROES IN NEW YORK CITY.

- PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY -

Despite the emphasis now being laid upon individual inheritance as a determining factor in man's struggle for existence, there is no doubt that environment, physical, psychical and social plays a part of tremendous importance in determining the characteristics of both the individual and the group. Through the adjustment of himself to the requirements of his environment, man has always been and will, perhaps forever, be molding new types, determining new customs and creating new characteristics. People long dwelling in the same environment develop certain modes of thought and action. Under given stimuli of sufficient duration, the group cultivates peculiar desires and provides suitable means of satisfying them. A change of environment produces a change in the individual, i.e. a change from one set of circumstances to another produces different desires and different means of satisfaction. About these two facts the data presented in this study are grouped.

The individual has greater freedom for the expression of his own desires in the selection of his amusements than in any other activity of life. This paper aims then to show: (1) The West Indian's response to his new stimuli, and (2) his use of his leisure time. Comparison of his home and present environments and discussion of his occupational activities, therefore, are

referred to only in so far as the same aid in grasping more fully the subject in hand.

The study was made of a heterogeneous group of twenty-four individuals.

A list of twenty-seven names was secured from the Superintendent of Walton Kindergarten and Lincoln Day Nursery, in whose care many West Indian children are placed during the day. After a few nights work, this list was found to be unsatisfactory, because, (1) the individuals in almost every instance, were of the very lowest economic and intellectual class hence not representative, and (2) many had changed addresses. Only three of these individuals were finally accepted. A second list of ten names was secured from the Rector of a church in the neighborhood. These persons were of the best economic and intellectual type. Only five of them were considered in the study. From acquaintances formed by frequent visits to West Indian grocery stores, restaurants and churches, and by ascertaining from the janitors of ^{the} West Indian Apartments, the other sixteen were obtained.

Activity.

Table Showing Nativity of the Group.

City	Island	Pop. of City in 1900	Individuals.
Bridgetown	Barbados	25,000	10
Port of Spain	Trinidad	23,037	4
Basseterre	St. Christopher or St. Kitts	9,097	3
St. Johns	Antigua	9,738	3
Charlotte Amalie	St. Thomas	10,000	2
Kingston	Jamaica	46,542	1
Charleston	Nevis	838	1
Total			24

Of the twenty-four individuals, twenty-two were natives of the British, and two of the Danish Islands. All were from the Lesser Antilles except the Jamaican. It is seen that all of the individuals, except one, were from cities. I consider a study of a group of city people dwelling in a foreign city productive of more serviceable material than that offered by a study either of a group of rural individuals, or a mixed group of rural and city people dwelling in this foreign city, especially when the purpose of the study is to learn what effect the environment of the new country is having on the immigrant group. The rustic in a foreign city must carry on double adjustment--adjustment to the city environment and adjustment to the foreign environment. The resident of the foreign city, be it small, has only one adjustment to complete--from his native

customs to the foreign habits of life. The city of 10,000 inhabitants has the same characteristics of urban life as the city of many more thousands, though on a small scale. For this reason individuals from cities are included in the study.

The chief crop in the West Indies is sugar cane, imported by America in large quantities - and until recently by European countries. But under the bounty system by which the "protectionist" countries of Europe stimulated the beet sugar industry by paying bounties on exports, the production of sugar in these bounty paying countries reached a proportion which it never could have reached without state aid. At the same time the consumption of sugar was greatly restricted on account of the heavy excise duties, imposed mainly to provide for the payment of bounty. The quantity of sugar was so increased at that time, the price in foreign countries of the exported beet sugar was below the price of the prime cost of production. Consequently this European competition greatly reduced the sugar profits in the West Indies. From the beginning of the bounty system, about the middle of the nineteenth Century, a change in the demand for the staple crop was felt in the West Indies, and, in the large Eighties, the depletion became serious and has been so ever since. Laborers on the cane plantations were thrown out of work, and the inhabitants throughout the Islands felt the decrease in the number of opportunities for employment even in other fields of labor. Hence, the great American immigration from the West Indies during this period.

Barbados, which has the densest population by of all the islands (1,120 per square miles) and the largest proportional area of land grown in sugar cane, naturally would have the largest amount of suffering or the largest emmigration, when it became necessary to change to the cultivation of fruit, which is a more extensive crop than sugar cane, and requires less labor in its production. This probably accounts for the large proportion of Barbadians found in "San Juan Hill," and included in the study.

Ages. The lowest age studied was seventeen, the highest fifty, and the median thirty-one years.

Sexes. Seven women and seventeen men composed the group. I welcomed the excess of men over women because (1) there are more West Indian men in New York than women, which complies with the general rule of foreign immigration, and (2) the wife of the West Indian is somewhat reticent about talking in the absence of her husband, who dominates the home with his strong will. There is a great deal of passive obedience on the part of his wife and children. This accounts for the belief current among the American Negroes, that the West Indian is cruel to his wife. Regardless of the cause, the West Indian wife is rather taciturn in her husband's absence. If she talks, her story is so nearly like her husband's that no additional information is gathered from the second interview.

Conjugal
Conditions.

The group consisted of fourteen married, eight single and two widowed persons. These individuals who had intermarried with Americans were rejected as types, in order to eliminate those whose home influences were not purely West Indian. Only one American lodger resided with the group. In addition to the twenty-four individuals composing the group, there were twenty-three children, fourteen wives, and fifteen lodgers sharing the family life. The living apartments were made up of from two to five rooms. The best conditions was husband and wife living in five rooms. The worst was husband, wife, eight children, and one lodger living in four rooms. In a few other instances, there was a tendency toward overcrowding, which is due largely to high rents coupled with low wages. Of the sixteen married or widowed persons;

7	had	no children
4	had	1 child
2	"	2 children
1	"	2 "
1	"	3 "
1	"	4 "
1	"	6 "

These figures are not indicative of the productivity of the West Indian because of the short time some of the group had been married.

The lowest rent	-----	*\$6.00	per mo.
" highest "	-----	23.20	" "
" median "	-----	14.00	" "

The lowest wage	-----	\$20.00	per mo.
" highest "	-----	90.00	" "
" median "	-----	40.00	" "

The income of five individuals, one undertaker, one merchant, one student, one artist, and one woman who was janitor

* This refers to the rent of single room. Lowest apartment rent \$10. per mo.

and did job sewing, could not be ascertained. Estimating -that the rent paid by the fifteen lodgers would provide food for the fourteen unemployed wives, there was left after deducting the rent, an average of about \$26.00 per month for the wife's clothes and amusements, and the full support of an adult and a child (in every case below ten years). The individuals' quest for happiness must be considered with these limitations in mind.

Occupational
Activities.

Occupations.	Individuals.
Porters _____	6
Printers _____	2
Dressmakers _____	2
Day's work _____	2
Sailors _____	2
Cook _____	1
Merchant _____	1
Undertaker _____	1
House work _____	1
Shipping Clerk _____	1
Switch Board Operator _____	1
Laundress _____	1
Janitor and plain seamstress _____	1
"Artist" _____	1
Student _____	1
Total _____	24

Only seven of these persons had engaged in the same or a similar kind of work in the West Indies. Seventeen had done very dissimilar work (usually work of a less menial nature). For instance, one teacher at home is now a porter, and one accountant is now a shipping clerk.

Twenty had been working at their present occupations more than one year; three more than a month but considerably less than a year, and one had changed work four times

In the month previous to the interview. Only one of the four individuals who changed their positions frequently, had been in New York longer than one year. Doubtless a lack of adjustment due to the brevity of their abode here was the cause of their rapid transference.

Intellectual Status.

Less than 7th Standard* -----	3
7th Standard -----	13
High School -----	3
College (Howard Univ. Wash. D.C.) -----	2
In Columbia Medical School -----	1
In Law School of N.Y. Univ. (night) -----	1
Could speak several languages -----	1
Total -----	24

The linguist referred to in the above table is from St. Thomas, a Danish Island where many tourists spend their winters, and where a speaking knowledge of many languages is greatly in demand. The St. Thomas Negro has the reputation of being able to speak a little of several languages.

Reasons For Coming to New York.

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Individuals.</u>
"To better condition* -----	7
To obtain an education -----	5
Adventure -----	4
To See Relatives -----	4
"Trouble on board boat" on which they worked -----	2
To get married -----	2
Total -----	24

At bottom, the reason for the immigration is economic. Relatives and prospective wives had most likely come "to better condition." Those who came for educational opportunities are either working and attending night school, or working to get money with which to attend school later. ~~America is spoken of~~
 *The "Standard" corresponds to the American "Grade."

in the West Indies as a land of plenty. This report acts as a strong incentive to emigration in a country whose chief crop is depleting.

Length of
me in New
York.

The longest period in New York ----- 17 years
The shortest period in New York ---- 1 year
The median period in New York ----- 7 years.

Books used
in making
study.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| Geography of
West Indies. |) | 1. Extracts from Rand McNally's
Atlas of the world. |
| |) | 2. International Geography by
Hugh Robert Mill. |
| Social Standing
of the Negro in
the West Indies |) | 3. The whole of White Capital and
colored labor, by Sir Sidney Oliver. |

The books treated of the Negro in the West Indies. Nothing was read concerning the West Indian Negro in America, because it was not thought desirable to commence the study with ideas already formed about conditions.

Methods.

The information was gathered through three sources-- interrogation, conversation and observation. A list of questions was prepared covering certain forms of pleasure. Only upon second trial was an adequate list prepared--the first included pleasures not indulged in and left out many of their favorite pastimes. The second list was prepared after interviewing a few individuals and was found to be satisfactory. This method was simple and proved to be very effective. It surpassed the other two in being more definite and complete. Often assertions made loosely were corrected upon further questioning and the individuals gave information on topics that would not otherwise have been touched upon. The following questionnaire was used:

A GROUP OF WEST INDIAN NEGROES IN NEW YORK CITY.

1. Name _____ Address _____ Fl.F.B.R.L. _____
 " (West Indian) _____
2. Male or Female _____ Age _____
3. Married or single _____ To W.I. or Amer. _____
4. Children _____ Ages _____ Lodgers _____
5. No of rooms in apartment _____ Approximate size _____
 Ventilation _____ Cu.Ft. air space per individual _____
 Rent _____ general condition of apartment _____
 of house _____
6. Reasons for coming to New York _____
7. How long in America _____ in New York _____
8. Occupation in W.I. _____ No. of occupations since being
 in New York _____ time in each _____ Wages for last _____
 _____ " " " _____
 _____ " " " _____
 _____ " " " _____
9. Present extent of leisure time _____
10. How is it divided _____ Hours for sleep _____ Meals _____
 How many meals at home per day _____ All Family present _____
 regular seats _____ Boarders _____
 Grace _____ conversation at meals _____ about what _____
 _____ Table manners _____ Bed time _____
 What is done between dinner and bed time _____
 Attnded night school _____
11. Theatres:-Kind _____ Time _____ Pref. _____ More here or less
 Clubs: " _____ " _____ " _____ " " " "
 Sports: " _____ " _____ " _____ " " " "
 Dancing: " _____ " _____ " _____ " " " "

- 15. Talking: Where _____ For what _____ More here or less.
- 16. Visiting: W.I. _____ Time _____ When " " " "
- 17. Card playing: Where _____ " _____ Pref. _____ More here or less
- 18. Smoking: Where _____ " _____ " " " "
- 19. Music: Plays what instrument _____ Class of music _____
 Sings _____ Class of music _____
 Appreciates: Class of Music _____ Instruments _____
- 20. Beverages: Kind _____ Where _____ Amount _____ More here or less
- 21. Church _____ Denomination in W.I. _____ in New York _____ More here or less
 Times per week _____ Kind of service _____
- 22. Reading _____ Where _____ More here or less.
 Papers _____ Kind _____ Time _____
 Magazines _____ " _____ " _____
 Books _____ " _____ " _____
- 23. Which of the above named pleasures most enjoyed _____
- 24. Politics: Are you a citizen of U. S. _____
 Do you intend to be _____
- 25. Is the environment morally better or worse in N.Y. than in W.I. _____
- 26. Points of interest mentioned about N.Y. _____
 W.I. _____
- 27. What are your future plans for yourself _____
- 28. For your children _____
- 29. Remarks _____

In some cases, however, a better impression could be obtained by making a few remarks that would encourage the individual to talk. By exercising care, what was said could be noted. This method was found superior in a few cases and was very valuable as a supplement to the method just presented.

Observation, by visiting frequently and at different hours of the day, proved to be exceedingly fitting for the discovery of defects and conditions that could not be inquired into such as the appearance of the apartments, including the taste in fitting up the different parts of the rooms. This method was used to find out the conditions of the streets, of each pool-room barber-shop, dance hall, saloon, rathskeller, moving picture and vaudeville show, undertaking establishment, grocery store, tailor shop, theatre, restaurant, public bath, club house, mission and church in the vicinity.

All of these methods had their peculiar advantages, and the study would have been incomplete had any one been omitted entirely.

A club for boys has been conducted in 63rd St., since October 1912, and work was done for the Charity Organization in this section or district for two months which gave me opportunity to enter into the life of the neighborhood.

Superstition on the part of certain members of the group interfered with the progress of the study. Three individuals refused a conference. They would listen to no explanation whatsoever, saying that they understood "the whole thing" or had

been "caught that way before," or the like. Further effort proved to be entirely useless. A prominent West Indian Physician of the vicinity gave me the privilege of using his card and name as a reference. Some who were somewhat uncommunicative in the first interview, after a call upon the Doctor with regard to my purposes, became very talkative in the second. Some felt that they did not "care to be singled out and studied." One man refused to converse on the ground that it could be of no benefit to him. The inaccuracy of memory, which especially was noticeable among those who had been here for sometime, in speaking of conditions at home, and the discrepancies which unconsciously creep in while transferring impressions, should be considered. It is not claimed, therefore, that the material herein presented does more than indicate the West Indian's social mind and his response to his new environment. It is hoped, however, that the conclusions arrived at are warranted by the data presented.

THE NEGRO IN THE WEST INDIES.

In the West Indies the climate is never cold, and, with little exertion or expenditure, tropical fruit, fish and game can be had. If it were not for the depletion of the staple crop, sugar cane, life would be comparatively easy. In addition to the ease offered by these natural resources are the generally prevailing low prices found throughout the British Kingdom. To many of the games, races and other force of amusement, there is no price of admission. These conditions produce in the West Indian low standards and a love of ease, which are by no means in harmony with the high cost of living and business rush in New York City. It is thus easy to understand why the West Indian complains so frequently of "lack of spare time to engage in many activities, for which, to the contrary and according to his own statements, he has ample time. One woman said that at home she was "a lady of leisure," but that here she worked all the time. It was later learned that her only duty was to care for her own home, a four room apartment in which lived herself, her brother and her husband. Several men working only ten or twelve hours per day claimed that they had no time for going to the theatre, for walking and other amusements. They often spoke of America's being in "such a hurry." No less noticeable is the complaint of having no means for pastimes. This is true, in part, but it would appear that the West Indian exaggerates his inability to pay. In grocery stores they can be found buy-

ing articles for two, three or five cents which could be far more economically purchased in larger quantities. In the churches they give with dignity contributions below five cents. The collections of the two leading churches of the district, Union Baptist made up largely of American Negroes of about the same economic standing, and St. Cyprian's Episcopal, made up largely of West Indians, show a difference which substantiates this fact. In proportion to the congregation, the collections of the former far exceed those of the latter. This may be due partly to the fact that the former is independent and self-supporting while the latter is aided by the Episcopal Board, but largely doubtless to the difference in the habits of their members. Such is to be expected of individuals whose modes of life have been shaped by small demands, when introduced into ^{an} environment like New York city.

lasses. In the West Indies, there are three main divisions of the population, White, Colored and Negro. The distinction between colored and Negro is not well defined, but its more sharply drawn than in America. Writers, as well as the West Indians themselves, speak of these three divisions. Two of the individuals become indignant when they noticed the expression "A Group of West Indian Negroes" on the top of my question sheet. Others commented upon the nonsense of the distinction. In the Islands studied, the Negroes, or Blacks are in majority, and the Colored group exceeds the Whites. The Whites are usually English, but many other nationalities are to be found, notably the Spanish. The Colored

The Colored is made up of an intermixture of Negroes and the other nationalities, making a stock of African—Spanish, African - Jewish, African - French, African -English etc. One individual could trace in his veins, "Scotch, French, Carib, and African blood." It is not strange that the difference between "Colored" and "Negro" is more marked in the West Indies than in America when it is considered that outside prejudice and "Jin Crowism" have not stamped all individuals of African descent alike. The West Indian Negro is under no such pressure, hence classes tend to form as among other people

In addition to this physical division, there are classes built upon the skill of the trades followed. For instance, the tailor is reluctant about associating with the plumber, or the accountant with the carpenter, though both may be of the same economic standing. But the skill of the trade is largely determined, in the West Indian's mind, by just how tidy the workman can keep; hence the class line is drawn on what may be called the "nicety" of the work. This distinction is a sharply drawn and generally recognized by the West Indian. This can be explained by the fact that they live under English rule and have had Englishmen to imitate since release from their bondage. They live in an atmosphere pregnant with caste distinctions.

The other classification noticeable in the "good" and the "bad." The good are usually the churchgoers and the bad, the non-church-goers. The church in the West Indies is highly esteemed. It sets taboos of all kinds and largely

determines the conduct of its members. The West Indian has great faith which borders on superstition and he trusts his pastor next to his God. They often speak of what noble preachers they have been accustomed to, and even herethe Pastor is frequently called in to stop a family dispute. The authority of the church is generally respected and a sharp line is drawn between church-goers and non-attendants. Such pleasures are tabooed by the church, as car-playing dancing, and the like. This was the reason most frequently offered for not indulging in these pleasures. A woman and a man, when asked their reason for not playing cars and dancing, said respectively, "I would have been put out had I done so," and "my mother made me walk with my Bible in my hand." There are a few, however, who seem to have disregarded the church entirely and indulged to their hearts content in all forms of amusements. They, from the standpoint of the church-goers, are the "Bad."

A clear idea of the relation and response of the West Indian Negro to law and order in his country may be had by quoting from two American writers.

Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox writing from Jamaica to New York Americans, in January 1906, speaks as follows: "The man or woman who visits Jamaica and does not acknowledge the ability of the colored race to occupy positions of dignity and trust, and to acquire education and culture, is either blind

or utterly pig-headed.

"Three colored men acted on the jury in Kingston this week. The policemen, the trolley and railway officials are colored; so are post office officials. Scores of men stamped with the indelible marks of the African occupy prominent places in large industrial concerns, and the most remarkable man teacher I ever met with is Mr. _____ of _____, Principal of the Schools, and a man of very dark albeit of very handsome features.

"There is no question but that the colored man is more evenly developed and better treated, better understood on this island than any where in America."

Prof. Josiah Royce of Harvard University, in an article on "Race Questions and Prejudices," published in the International Journal of Ethics for April 1906, speaking of Jamaica, said, "There is no public controversy about social equality or superiority; Neither a white man nor a white woman feels insecure in moving about freely amongst the black population any where on the Island.

"The Negro is, on the whole, neither painfully obstrusive in his public manner, nor in need of being sharply kept in his place. Within the circles of the black population itself, there is meanwhile a decidedly rich social differentiation. There are Negroes in government service. Negroes in the professions. Negroes in who are fairly prosperous peasant proprietors, and there are also the poor peasants;

there are the thriftless, the poor in the towns—yes, as in any tropical country, the beggars. In Kingston and in some other towns there is a small class of Negroes who are distinctly criminal. On the whole, however, the Negro and Colored population, taken in the mass, are orderly, law-abiding, contented,—generally loyal to the government—aspiring in their own way, and wholesomely self-conscious. He is accustomed to the law; he sees its ministers often and often too, as men of his own race; and in the main he is fond of order, and to be respectful toward the established ways of society. The economic aspect of the island is in many ways unsatisfactory. But the Negro race question, in a present American sense of that term, seems to be substantially solved."

The British have encouraged this attitude by being absolutely fair in matters of legal contest regardless of color. The Negro delights in settling his grievances in Court. This has been worked out to a better conclusion in some islands than in others. For instance, in Barbados, where the Whites are of the same stock as the Virginia Colonists and "the blacks of a superior stock" and the least mixed of all the islands, the Negro is passionately fond of and loyal to his Government; "his island is little England and he is neither Carib nor Ureole but true Barbadian horn." The Negro from the Danish Islands speaks with even greater pride of the fairness of his country. Both of the homes of the Danish Islanders studied had on their walls the picture of the late King of Denmark. At his death, the Danish West Indian Negroes in New York City sent a tribute

of flowers to Denmark for his funeral and held memorial services in his honor. The West Indian loves law because he share in its administration and sees its fairness. He respects authority and conforms readily to established ways of doing things. This -he carries over into his pleasur s and other forms of life.

According to statements made by persons interviewed during the course of the study, the saloons in the West Indies are closed at 6:00 p.m.. the Sunday law is strictly observed and no woman is allowed on the streets after 9:00 p.m. alone. Vice and crime are strictly segregated and the better class of West Indians hold themselves aloof from thisclass. The West Indian city after nightfall and on Sundays, except in the slums presents a very quiet and orderfly picture. This explains why the West Indian in New York City finds himself gradually keep- ing later hours. They often stated ^{that} /at home they went to bed at seven, but now at twelve o'clock. The same individuals that speak so highly of the system at home can now be found buying and selling on Sunday. The recent arrival, however, thinks it awful to have business places open on Sundays and all night, as is the case with many of our saloons. To the West Indian mind, the English law is severer as well as fairer than the American law. The individual committing an offense finds but little mercy, regardless of hisposition or wealth. This causes them to feel that any offense will be justly dealt with regardless of the color of the status of the accused individual.

Pleasures of
the group in
the West Indies
Only.

Pleasure	Individuals.
Picnicing -----	11
Boating -----	9
Fishing -----	8
Attending Birth Right Parties	8
Attending races -----	8
Sea Bathing -----	3
Bicycling -----	2
Playing Rugby -----	2

Picnics are held frequently under the management of a lodge, church, Sunday School or Club. The individuals spend a day at the Beach or some other suitable place, boating, perhaps racing a little, chatting, eating, often cooking the fish netted the same day and engaging in cricket and rugby, if the time and weather are suitable.

Boating is participated in to some extent, which is to be expected of an island-dwelling folk. Boating takes two forms, racing and "boat riding" in which a crowd of persons take an outing simple for the pleasure it affords. Races are held for the pleasure of the spectators. Betting is generally indulged in on such occasions.

Fishing may be regarded as pleasure and work combined, for it is hard to tell whether the individual fishes for the pleasure of fishing or for the sake of catching his evening meal. However considered, many individuals in the West Indies engage in it not as a regular employment for they fish during their leisure hours, and doubtless derive some pleasure from it.

Birth Nights are frequently celebrated with a supper, to which a few selected friends are invited. A programme is arranged by the individual giving the celebration. It consists of songs recitations (usually poetry), conversations (comprised largely of jokes), refreshments, and toasts to the host or hostess.

Horse racing is a delight of the West Indian. Admission is free. Reserved seats are sold. The attendance is usually large. Betting is engaged in to some extent.

Sea Bathing is frequently mentioned with pleasant recollections.

Bicycling is "famous" in the West Indies. All of the islands studies have good roads leading out from the towns for some distance, and thus is bicycling encouraged. On coming to New York City, this sport is abandoned on account of the crowded condition of the streets.

Rugby, the English game of football, is a winter sport in the West Indies.

Note: To avoid repetition the pleasures engaged in in both places are discussed under the "West Indian in New York City!"

THE WEST INDIAN IN NEW YORK CITY.

The group was taken from West 61st, 62nd, 63rd, and 64th Streets, between Tenth and Eleventh Avenues. This is in that section of New York City known as "San Juan Hill," so called because of the riots that occurred between the Irish and the Negroes just after the battle on San Juan Hill in the Spanish American War, and because of the slope toward the Hudson. In the first two streets, the houses, as a rule, are unfit for human habitation. They are in a dilapidated condition, the halls and stairways are frequently found dark and filled with an offensive odor. The glass in the front door of the ground floor of one house in 62nd Street remained out from the First of December 1912 to the last of March 1913. This explains in part at any rate, the frequent change of tenants' addresses. Of the twenty-seven names obtained from the kindergarten and nursery, only eight could be located at the addresses given. These names were drawn from a list made out about a year previous. Some had gone to 63rd and 64th Streets and others to Harlem. These unsatisfactory housing conditions also account for the fact that a visitor must tell his name and often his business, before the door is opened. Many crimes are committed in these two Streets. In them are two rathskellers and several saloons. The observer can sometimes listen to a sermon and watch a fight within a block at the same time.

Sixty-third and sixty-fourth Streets present a somewhat better appearance. Upon examination, it is found that 63rd St. is free from places of vice, except on the Tenth Avenue Cor.

Union Baptist Church has exerted sufficient influence to keep out even pool rooms. In 64th Street there are two pool rooms, but no saloons or rathshjellers. In these two streets are the Phipps and other new-law tenements, which have caused a change in conditions both by inducing a better class of people to come to the neighborhood and by encouraging better conduct of those already there.

In the neighborhood the following places for social betterment are taken advantage of by the Colored people:

Agencies	Individuals
-----	-----
Missions and Chapels -----	9
Places for holding clubs -----	6
Churches -----	3
Day Nurseries -----	1
Gymnasium -----	1
Public Bath -----	1
Total -----	21

There are also many moving picture and vaudeville theatres on Broadway near Columbus Circle, one of considerable size on 65th St., Between Ninth and Tenth Avenues, and the Century Theatre on the corner of 62nd Street and Eighth Avenue. All of these are attended by the West Indians. The nearest dance hall is on 53rd St., near Sixth Avenue.

The two leading churches are St. Cyprian's Protestant Episcopal and Union Baptist. The former was erected by the Board of the Episcopal Denomination. In addition to its chapel, it has a gymnasium, and other institutional features. The latter was erected and is now supported by its members. It has by far the

larger congregation, mostly of American Negroes, and is in closer touch with the community. Its services are more emotional, at times bordering on disorder. This is especially true of the Sunday School. In St. Cyprian's, the membership is largely West Indian. This is due to the fact that, the Episcopal Church is the dominant church in the West Indies. There is quite a contrast between the services of the two churches. The order of St. Cyprians Church and Sunday School is very good. This/^{is}perhaps due both to the formality of the service and the West Indian customary dignity and quietness of manner.

An idea of what the West Indian is doing in this section in business is shown by the following table. Only colored businesses are taken into account.

BUSINESS ENTERPRIZES OF AMERICAN AND WEST
INDIAN NEGROES ON "SAN JUAN HILL."

Enterprizes	: Americans.	: Barbadians	: Other West Indians
Grocery stores	0	4	1
Restaurants	1	1	0
Coal dealers	0	1	2
Pool room mgrs.	3	1	0
Tailors	0	0	2
Saloons	1	1	0
Undertakers	0	1	1
Total	5	9	6

It is thus seen that fifteen of the twenty businesses are run by the West Indians, though they are fewer in population in these streets than American Negroes. The Barbadians are outnumbered by the other West Indians, but they have three fifths of the West Indian businesses. The West Indian business success can be explained by two facts; 1. He is accustomed to carrying on business. 2. He has learned to trust his fellow-countryman and they support him in business. They make sacrifices and frequently inconvenience themselves in order to encourage the beginner—sometimes coming great distances to give him their patronage. One man claims that several West Indians who live in Brooklyn come weekly to his store on 62nd St., to lay in their supply of groceries. A West Indian undertaker said that another West Indian refused an under bid of twenty dollars by a white undertaker. It is frequently said that the West Indian is the only Negro that can withstand the competition of the Jew. There is no doubt that he is successful in small business.

He comes in contact with the white man in the streets, the theatres, saloons, restaurants and other public places. The West Indian chafes under the prejudice encountered in this country in public places. At his home there is absolutely no distinction in public affairs, the only distinction that can be found is in private affairs. From this it might be expected that he has less regard for American law and justice. Some spoke freely of their impression of America's so-called "freedom and equality." They claim that it has been reduced to a farce and that "Christianity

here upholds the exact antithesis of Christ's teaching."

They all prefer America because of the economic conditions. Of the seventeen men interviewed, only one has become a citizen; ten intend to become naturalized as soon as possible; six do not care to be citizens, two because of prejudice, two because of love for England and Denmark, one because he sees no advantage in being a citizen; and one intends to return home shortly.

The contact of the West Indian and American Negro is not always pleasant. Prejudice exists to some extent between the two. The West Indian often boasts of superior conditions at home, to which the American Negro retorts that they "leave home and servants to become tenants and servants." The source of the prejudice can only be located with difficulty. It prevents to a great extent however, the intercourse between the two groups.

The apartments of the West Indians displayed all gradations of cleanliness. They are in some instances decorated with post-cards from the West Indies. In a ^{few} cases, the decoration is somewhat profuse, consisting of fairy pictures, bright colored curtains and rugs, but on the whole the appearance is much more cheerless than the home of the average American Negro. The number of cases observed do not warrant a generalization, but the three homes mistresssed by uneducated American wives, the conditions in which are not considered in this study, presented a far more cheerful appearance. This can easily be understood when one thinks of the quietness and

deliberation of the West Indian's speech and manner. His home -carries with it the same dullness of spirit.

PLEASURES ENJOYED IN AMERICA.

A necessary pleasure is eating. The West Indian as a rule eats three full meals per day. His meal hour is looked upon as an hour of enjoyment where he and his family talk of -home, travel, religion, current events and compare the customs of New York City with those of his home. After dinner comes his smoke, walk, visit or reading.

The West Indian consumes considerable time in and derives a great deal of enjoyment from smoking. He is found most frequently smoking his pipe or cigarette (perhaps for an economic reason). He smokes frequently during the day, but especially after meals and during the evenings. Of the group of seventeen men, four have never smoked, two have smoked less, and four have smoked more here than at home; one has learned to smoke since coming here, and six have experienced no change. There has been a noticeable increase in smoking especially among the bachelors, who indulge in it chiefly to drive away "a feeling of loneliness."

The group's indulgence in the drink habit obtains as follows:

Drinks	Individuals.
Beer	9
Soft Drinks (soda only)	3
Wine	3

<u>Drinks.</u>		<u>Individuals</u>
All kinds	_____	2
Bone	_____	7
	Total	_____ 24

Of the seventeen drinkers, twelve drink at home with their few friends and at meals; two at parties only when their comrades drink, and three in saloons, at home, at parties, or anywhere. It will be noticed that the three soft drinkers could not be taken off the list, leaving fourteen that drink. Of these fourteen some drink to excess, two are "medium" drinkers (i.e. drinking a bottle of beer once or twice per day); nine drink but "little" (i.e. they take a drink once or twice per week) and six drink very little" (i.e. drinking a little wine or beer less than once per month or only at parties). Two stopped drinking, while five learned to drink after arriving in New York. In the saloons and pool rooms occasionally a West Indian is seen nodding under the influence of liquor. The observation of the writer, the testimony of the group studied, and the statements of the white and -colored saloon keepers of the vicinity point to the conclusion that the West Indian is rarely a drunkard. He drinks more in New York than at his home because it is handier, the taboo of the church is not so strong and his acquaintances here are usually drinkers.

The West Indians congregate during the evening and converse—frequently in frivolous jokes. They delight also in arguments about the Scriptures and current events. This perhaps takes the place of the literary or debating societies attended in the West Indies, of which they so frequently speak. In these arguments, they seldom give more than mere opinions about the

the questions under consideration--there is displayed, however, some originality of thought. The West Indian consciously strives to -be independent in his thinking.

Consciousness of kind, as with other groups, shows itself by interchange of visits with friends and blood relatives. Of the group studied:

20 visited more at home
 2 " " here
 2 experienced no change
 3 do not visit at all here.

Of the 21 who visit in New York:

11 visit West Indians more frequently
 3 " Americans " "
 7 " both about the same.

When visiting is done:

9 visit generally on Sundays
 5 " " in the evenings
 3 " " on week days
 2 " " evenings and Sundays
 2 " " " " week days.

The greatest amount of time spent in visiting is fifty six hours per month, the median hours for the group is twelve. It is evident that the West Indian does his greatest amount of visiting evenings and Sundays, which is to be expected of a work-people. They visit other West Indians mostly because of the longer acquaintance, and the prejudice existing between them and the American Negroes. The great decrease in visiting is due to the more limited number of acquaintances and to lack of leisure.

tres.

<u>Kind attended most</u>	<u>Individuals</u>
Vaudeville -----	6
Moving Picture -----	2
Extravaganza -----	3
:Melodrama -----	2
:Tragedy -----	1
Dramatic :Religious -----	2
:Comedy -----	1
Have never attended theatre -----	7
Total -----	24

<u>Kind Preferred</u>	<u>Individuals</u>
Vaudeville -----	4
Extravaganza -----	6
: Religious -----	2
Dramatic : Melodrama -----	2
: Tragedy -----	1
: Comedy -----	1
Circus -----	1
Have never attended theatre -----	7
Total -----	24

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Individuals</u>
About once per day -----	1
Over five times per month -----	1
From one to four times per month-----	9
Less than once per month -----	6
Have never attended theatre -----	7
Total -----	24

Seven have never been to any kind of theatre. In some of the islands studied there are no theatres--in Brabados, they were introduced only since some of the individuals have been in New York, The greatest theatre-goers are from Port of Spain, Trinidad, where there are a number of theatres. In these islands -the individuals look forward with pleasure to the coming of some of the American Circuses, notably "Barnum and Bailey." Some of

* Informant insisted on correctness of statement: doubted however.

the plays frequented and appreciated here are the Vaudeville (in which the actors are white and the Negroes are so far outnumbered that they can exert but little influence upon the selection of acts.) moving pictures of the Wild West and Indian life, the plays of Shakespeare (especially Romeo and Juliet), Joseph and His Brethern, The Whip, and especially the Hippodrome. Some claimed that they were not able to go to the theatre preferred most, hence the difference between the preferred plays and the plays actually attended. To some no kind of theatre appealed. One woman said that her extra money was spent "to much better advantage eating ice-cream." Of the seventeen theatre goers, three went more at home and fourteen more in New York. As a rule, in their selection, they discard that which requires depths of thought and emotion for that which possesses -surface beauty and calls up simple ideas and emotions, such as -extravaganza and vaudeville. There are those, however, who appreciate dramas with rather complicated plots bringing out the depths of human passion.

ing. There are several motives for walking--business, health, pleasure, and instruction. Walking on business, has not been considered because it allows the individual no freedom of choice.

Walked more at home -----	19
" " in New York -----	4
Experienced no change -----	1
Total -----	24

Did not walk at all at home -----	0
" " " " " in New York -----	5

Where: Park only - 8; streets only - 1; both - 10.
 Motive: Pleasure - 11; Health, air - 3; exercise - 3;
 Health, pleasure and instruction, - 2.

Frequency: Less than once per month -----6

Frequency:	About once per week -----	8
	Twice or more per week ----	5
	Not at all -----	5
	Total -----	24

Two of the individuals walked early each morning and late each night, during the summer. The West Indian at times delights in being alone. They often speak of going to Central Park to avoid the crowd, while one spoke of going to Broadway to be in the crowd and view the white lights. Their delight for walking in the park is in harmony with their poetic nature, which will be brought out in another connection. Walking in the West Indies is encouraged by the proximity of the beautiful country scenery.

The West Indian is a lover of music, so is evidenced by the number of graphophones, pianos, mandolines, violins, guitars and organs found in their homes and the music heard in adjoining apartments. Sunday afternoons and a few hours during the evenings are spent playing the organ and singing hymns. The pastor of the church related several instances of their singing a hymn or two to the music of an accordian at marriages on Sundays and dancing to the music of a banjo or guitar at marriages during the week. A visitor to a West Indian home, almost always, has his knowledge or ignorance of music revealed by entreaties to play. Of the twenty-four individuals studied, twelve play some kind of instrument.

Instrument ***	Individual ***
Pianom or Organ -----	5
Guitar -----	2
Violin -----	2
Mandolin -----	2

Instrument ****	Individual ****
All four -----	1
No instrument -----	12
Total -----	24

Class of Music Played Mostly -----	Individuals -----
Sentimental -----	4
Sacred -----	3
Classical -----	3
Ragtime -----	2
None -----	12
Total -----	24

Only eight of the individuals sing well enough to sing solos or take a separate part in a chorus.

Class of Music Sung Most -----	Individuals -----
Sacred -----	4
Sentimental -----	3
Ragtime -----	1
None -----	16
Total -----	24

Instrument liked most -----	Individuals -----
Piano -----	10
Violin -----	6
Organ -----	4
Mandolin -----	2
Guitar -----	1
Graphophone -----	1
Total -----	24

It is seen that the West Indian is very sentimental. (This is also show in his love letter, which is filled with expressions of affection). Some of the pieces of music mentioned are "Beautiful Stars of Heaven," "Warblers of the Wildwood," and "Till the Sands of the Desert Grow Cold." In addition to sentimentality, there seems to be a poetic streak in his nature. The West Indian, as a rule, dislikes to be accused of loving ragtime music. His songs are by no means so cheerful as those of the

American Negro.

Dancing. Nine of the individuals have never danced. Three have learned since coming to New York. Of those that have danced in both places, six have danced more at home, and six more in New York. The dancing is done at the dance hall on 53rd St., and at three casinos. Two of the individuals attend at least three dances per week, five about one per month and nine not so many. The average number of hours spent in dancing by the group is about five per month. The only dances practiced are the two-step, waltz and schottische—the waltz being the preference of the majority. Other than the three that learned after coming to New York there seems to be no change in the amount of dancing practiced. It must be considered, however, that many of the individuals have married since coming to New York, and hence have stopped for that reason. All of the single individuals have either learned to dance or danced more after coming to America. I am convinced that the West Indian, unless certain causes peculiarly American prevent, dances far more in New York than at home.

ard
aying.

Ten of the individuals have never played cards. One played at home, but was stopped after coming here "by the Lord," while three learned after coming to New York. Of the ten that played in the West Indies and now play, four played more at home, and six more in New York.

Game Preferred	Individuals
Whist -----	10
Bridge -----	1
Casino -----	1

Game Preferred	Individuals.
Seven Up ---p-----p---	1
Pinchhole -----	1
None -----	10
Total	-----24

Nine of the individuals played at home with two, three or four intimate friends, and four usually at parties, i.e. with a group of individuals sufficient to number to occupy two or more tables.

Frequency	Individuals
Less than once per month -----	3
Once per week -----	6
More often -----	4
Not since coming to New York-----	1
Never did -----	10
Total	-----24

The West Indians seems to care but little about card playing, and "trusts luck" largely for results. This explains the objection so many raised against card playing, i.e. that "It does the mind no good." Checkers and Spanish Pool are frequently played by the children while the parents watch the game and commend the victor. There is a small increase in card playing after coming to New York.

Seven of the individuals have never taken part in any form of sport. Nine played cricket at home, while only three played in America. A Cricket Club and a Woman's Auxiliary hold two meetings per week each in "San Juan Hill" during the summer, Cricket is the universal game in the West Indies, and though there is less interest in the sport here, it is the most popular game among the West Indians in New York. One of the individuals is a boxer, one a football player, and one a professional basket and base

-ball player, Only five of the group engage in any form of athletics in New York, though they have opportunity to do so. This is perhaps due to the lack of knowledge of American Athletics, to the fact that they are not used to vigorous exertion (especially in play) owing to the climate, or to a love of ease.

The club activities may be divided into two parts. (1) membership in secret societies or lodges and (2) membership in non-secret clubs organized for physical, intellectual, or social improvement. The lodges of which the West Indians are members are Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Guiding Star of Moses, Mt. Tabor Union House, Household of Ruth, Temple House of Moses, Foresters and Love and Charity. In the second group fall the Cricket Club, St. Cyprian Athletic Club, Mother's Club of Lincoln Day Nursery, the Mechanics Association, the West End Civic League, beside many clubs connected with the churches. The West Indians from the Danish Islands have a society for the benefit of the poor at home, and send at intervals certain sums of money to the West Indies for the poor. The church clubs in New York are social, while those in the West Indies are usually literary in function. The lodges require a monthly fee, usually ten or twenty-five cents. They give sick and death benefits. Meetings are held from once per month to twice per week. Membership in the lodges seems to be in the ascendency in the West Indies, while just the reverse is true with the other clubs.

Clubs in which membership is Held	Individuals
5 -----	1
4 -----	1
3 -----	1

Clubs In which Membership is Held	Individuals.
2 -----	5
1 -----	10
0 -----	6
Total	-----24

The average number of hours spent in attending club meetings per month for the group is about five. One the whole there is little change in club activities after coming to New York. Next, to the church, the clubs and lodges are the greatest social centres.

In the West Indies all the individuals were church members and church-goers. Fifteen are members here. Twenty-five have been to church since being in New York.

Church Attended Most	Individuals.
: St. Cyprians -----	13
Episcopal : St. Crysostum's -----	3
: St. Phillip's -----	1
Union Baptist -----	2
Catholic -----	1
Evangelistic -----	1
Third Noravian -----	1
None -----	2
Total	-----24

Attended more at home -----	22
" same in both places -----	1
" more in New York -----	1
Total	-----24

Frequency	Individuals.
More than once per week -----	8
Once per week -----	10
Less than once per week -----	4
Not at all -----	2
Total	-----24

Eighteen go especially to hear the preaching, two to hear the literary programme and one to hear the singing. There is a great decrease in the West Indian's church attendance. He explains

this by saying that "there are other places to go in New York," that "the preachers in New York allow too much foolishness in their churches," that "Nothing uplifting can be heard in the American Church," that the American Church sanctions prejudice" and that no one is here to make him go. One of the individuals connected himself with the Catholic Church because it did not discriminate. The West Indian has far less respect for the American Church than for his home church.

Reading. A considerable part of the West Indian's time is spent in reading. Reading was divided into three parts: reading papers, magazines, and books.

Papers: Nineteen of the group read papers. The papers read are the regular dailies, two colored papers (The New York Age and the Amsterdam News). and papers from the West Indies. There is a preference for "the Press" and "Tribune" because of the editorials. The West Indian claim that the editorials in these two papers are "more truthful and not so sensational." There is an increase in newspaper reading, due most likely to the cheapness and handiness of the American newspaper. The papers from the West Indies are very small, as a rule—consisting frequently of only two sheets. Usually the head line of the paper is the only thing read, but in two cases the individuals spoke of reading the entire paper, except advertisements, while five speaks of paying especial attention to the editorials.

Magazines: Sixteen of the individuals read no magazines. The other eight mentioned in order: The Outlook (or Roosevelt's Magazine" as it is called). The Literary Digest, the Crisis (edited

by DuBois), Ainslee's and The System. Much less time is spent in reading magazines than in reading papers or books. More magazines are read in New York than at home.

Books: All of the individuals except two read books of some kind.

Books read most	Individuals.
Bible -----	9
Poetry -----	6
Fiction -----	3
Religious novels -----	2
History -----	1
Law -----	1
No books -----	2
Total -----	24

There was noticed a preference for the New Testament, which is frequently read before retiring and just after rising. The West Indian revels in poetry. After a short acquaintance, some recite from Milton's Paradise Lost, Tennysons' "Idyls of the King," Poe's "Raven" Scott's "Lady of the Lake," Shakespeare's poetry, and a few other books. Two of the individuals recited their own compositions--one an "Ode on the Death of a Friend" to console his relatives and the other a poem, "A Lyric of Love". The two compositions seem to possess two of the requisites of good poetry, "form" and "high seriousness," but lack "suggestiveness." Among the other books mentioned are "Erry Thou till I Come." "Ivanhoe" "Last of the Mohicans," "Ben Hur" the works of Alexander Dumas, American History, and law books. A few dime novels were seen in two of the homes.

Maga-

HOURS SPENT IN READING BY THE INDIVIDUALS:- Papers-Zines-Books.

One hour per day or more -----	9	3	13
--------------------------------	---	---	----

Maga-

HOURS SPENT IN READING BY THE INDIVIDUALS- Papers-zines - Books.

Less than one hour per day ----- 10 8 9
 Total -----19-----8-----22

Six read more in New York
 Eleven read more in West Indies
 Seven experience no change.

 *TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE PLEASURE ACTIVITIES
 IN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

Pleasures	New York : Only	West Indies : Only	New York : more	About same N.Y. & W.I.	West Indies : more	Neither : Place	Total
Smoking	1	0	4	6	2	11	24
Drinking	5	2	7	3	0	7	24
Dancing	3	0	6	0	6	9	24
Card Playing	3	1	6	0	4	10	24
Theatre-going	5	0	9	0	3	7	24
Visiting	0	0	2	2	17	0	24
Walking	0	0	4	1	19	0	24
Athletics	0	12	2	0	3	7	24
Church-going	0	2	1	1	20	0	24
:Papers	0	0	17	2	0	5	24
Reading:Magazines	6	0	2	0	0	16	24
:Books	0	0	2	3	17	2	24

* The table aims only to summarize what has already be presented at various points in the study.
 Music is not included in the table because a satisfactory comparison of the music played sung and appreciated in the two places could not be made from the statements of the individuals of the group. For the same reason the club activities are not included in the table.

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SUMMARY

Pleasures	Individuals.
Church-going -----	8
Reading -----	6
Theatre-going -----	3
Music -----	3
Smoking -----	2
Dancing -----	1
Walking -----	1
Total	-----24

Three of these who prefer reading, one who prefer theatre-going and two who prefer music get most joy out of the religious side of these pleasure. Then fourteen of the twenty four persons are distinctively religious in their nature. This quality outweighs by far any other possessed by him. Perhaps the next in order is the sentimental. The intellectual, physical and convival qualities would be hard to grade so/ as to be of comparative importance. No one of the three received any great emphasis in West Indian life.

Judging from the participation in and rejection of pleasures in New York and a personal knowledge of each individual, the group was divided into three class according to its response to the American environment.

1. Those that deteriorate. This class may be further separated into two divisions:

- A. Those that accept the worst of the American life.
- B. Those that tend to become hermits and take no part in activities any further than is absolutely necessary.

11. Those who neither deteriorate nor elevate but instead carry on a daily program very similar to the one used at home.

3. Those that assimilate the best of American life and improve their condition.

An excessive increase in drinking, dancing, attending vaudeville and card-playing is considered a sign of deterioration unless accompanied by equal increase in church-going, reading of good books, walking, attending night school and the like. A tendency toward seclusion is also undesirable because it is indicative of poor adjustment to new conditions. An increase in the former set of pleasure activities coupled with a similar increase in the latter or vice versa or no change whatever is taken to be indicative of neither elevation or deterioration. A decrease is considered a sign of improvement or no change in the former attended by an increase in the latter. The conclusions are largely based upon the individuals story taken in the main and the impressions derived of him and his home during the visits, as upon the above arrangements of his pleasures.

Classes	Individuals
--- ; a-----3;	---
No. 1 : b-----2;	----- 5
No. 11 -----	----- 8
No. 3 -----	----- 11
Total 24.	

The median of the ages of the class that experienced no change in the routine of their lives is 36 years,* while the median for the entire group is 31 years. It is not strange that the older individuals were changed less by their new surroundings than the younger because they would naturally be more fixed in their habits and hence less impressionable.

*There was no difference between the medians of the time spent in New York by those individuals and the whole group.

It can be definitely stated that the first three individuals in Class I. are undesirable citizens. Though the other two are less harmful than the previous three, they cannot be called desirable. The eight persons in Class II are more desirable than those that show peevishness and ill-tempered discontent with everything American. Though not so valuable an asset as Class III. they must be class with the desirable. Then out of the group of twenty-four persons studied, nineteen or about four-fifths may be safely welcomed.